

# Interracial News Service

A DIGEST OF TRENDS AND DEVELOPMENTS IN HUMAN RELATIONS

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## TOWARD INTEGRATION

This issue of **INTERRACIAL NEWS SERVICE** carries those items of a suggestive and informative nature which may be useful to communities in the task of integrating their public schools. The *first* is a statement containing suggestions for action which was adopted by the Executive Committee of the Department of Racial and Cultural Relations. The *second* is a statement by Dr. Alfred McClung Lee on the nature and role of propaganda in influencing public opinion. The *third* is a listing of resource personnel available to the churches and other community groups through the Southern Regional Council, Inc.

### SUGGESTIONS FOR ACTION\*

The decree of the U. S. Supreme Court of May 31, 1955 for the implementation of the decision of May 17, 1954 regarding segregation in the public schools recalls the statement issued by the General Board of the National Council of Churches on May 19, 1954. In recognizing the complexity of making the changes called for, the National Council said:

To put the decision into effect will test the goodwill and discipline of people in many communities. Adjustments will be more difficult in some localities than in others. In the period of transition from one pattern to another (whatever the length of the period to be prescribed by the Court), we know that the churches and individual Christians will continue to exert their influence and leadership to help the authorized agencies in the several communities to bring about a complete compliance with the decision of the Supreme Court. The law of neighborliness is the great guide available to Christians as they deal with this situation in their local communities. 'Thou shalt love thy neighbor as thyself.' The second part of the Great Commandment contains the potential for lifting men to a new level of social responsibility and for creating new dimensions of human brotherhood.

The many statements supporting the elimination of segregation in the public schools, issued by local churches, denominations and other religious bodies, also set forth the complexity of making the changes called for by the decrees of the Supreme Court.

The May 31, 1955 decision places the primary responsibility for dealing with school desegregation and integration upon the school authorities in the local community. Implicitly the decision emphasizes the necessity for churches and individual Christians to exert their influence and leadership to help authorized agencies and individuals in the several communities to bring about complete compliance with the decisions of the Supreme Court in a spirit of goodwill and neighborliness.

To achieve this it is suggested that:

1. Denominations alert their local churches as to the important role that the churches have in creating a climate of opinion and in building channels of communication which foster democratic processes, free discussion of the issues involved, understanding, creative action and goodwill.

2. Denominations and councils of churches encourage the formation of action-study groups in each church.

3. Denominations, ministers' conferences, councils of churches and church women encourage the formation of community-wide action-study groups which include representatives from all of the churches.

4. These action-study groups should —

- A. Secure the facts about the situation in the local schools and make these facts available to all people in the community.
- B. Make available other information about desegregation and integration in the public schools, such as books, pamphlets, posters, films, film strips and recordings.
- C. Discuss, formulate and evaluate concrete proposals for action which are based upon Christian principles as well as upon available facts and information.
- D. Keep in communication with other community agencies and public officials regarding the issue.
- E. Cooperate actively with other community agencies and public officials in efforts to influence public opinion and to encourage constructive decisions on the part of school boards and school administrators.
- F. Work to enable the churches to use public discussion, newspaper publicity, radio programs and similar means of communication to counteract rumors and propaganda which are blocking democratic processes.
- G. Issue statements, hold conferences and public meetings dealing with the issues of desegregation and integration in the local community.
- H. Encourage ministers to discuss the issues involved in sermons and speeches.
- I. Work with adults, parents, youth and children in the church to interpret the meaning of desegregation and integration in the schools.

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### RESOURCES

For information, names of resource leaders, field services and literature, write to the Department of Racial and Cultural Relations of the National Council of Churches, 297 Fourth Ave., New York 10, N. Y. and/or to the social education and action agency or race relations department of your denomination.

#### Books

Ashmore, Harry S., **THE NEGRO AND THE SCHOOLS**, The University of North Carolina Press, Chapel Hill, N. C.

Williams, Robin M., and Ryan, Margaret W., **SCHOOLS IN TRANSITION — COMMUNITY EXPERIENCES IN DESEGREGATION**, The University of North Carolina Press, Chapel Hill, N. C.

#### Magazines

**SOCIAL PROBLEMS**, Vol. 2, No. 4, April 1955 "Desegregation in the Public Schools", published by the Society for the Study of Social Problems, Syracuse University, Syracuse, N. Y.

\*This statement was adopted by the Executive Committee of the Department of Racial and Cultural Relations of the National Council of Churches, on June 23, 1955, for transmittal to denominations and to councils of churches.



THE JOURNAL OF NEGRO EDUCATION, Vol. 23, No. 3, Summer 1954, "Next Steps in Racial Desegregation in Education", published by The Howard University Press, Howard University, Washington, D.C.

#### Newspapers

INTERRACIAL NEWS SERVICE, published bi-monthly by the Department of Racial and Cultural Relations, 297 Fourth Ave., New York, N. Y.

SOUTHERN SCHOOL NEWS, published monthly by the Southern Education Reporting Service, P.O. Box 6156, Acklen Station, Nashville, Tenn.

FACTS, September 1954, "Segregation and The New Hate Groups", published by the Anti-Defamation League of B'nai B'rith, 212 Fifth Ave., New York, N. Y.

#### Pamphlets

PROGRAM SERVICE, Programmatic and reference material relating to desegregation. Available from the Anti-Defamation League of B'nai B'rith.

A CHECK LIST FOR YOUR LOCAL SCHOOLS  
ANSWERS FOR ACTION — SCHOOLS IN THE SOUTH  
CHANGING PATTERNS IN THE NEW SOUTH

published by the Southern  
Regional Council, 63 Auburn Ave.,  
N.E. Atlanta, Ga.

JUST, RIGHT & NECESSARY, published by The National Council of the Protestant Episcopal Church, 281 Fourth Ave., New York 10, N. Y.

EDUCATION IN A TRANSITION COMMUNITY, by Jean D. Grambs, published by the National Conference of Christians and Jews, 381 Fourth Ave., New York 10, N. Y.

THE RIGHT OF EVERY CHILD — The Story of the Washington, D.C. Program of School Integration, published by the American Friends Service Committee, 20 South 12th St., Philadelphia 7, Pa.

STATEMENTS ADOPTED BY RELIGIOUS GROUPS RE SEGREGATION IN THE PUBLIC SCHOOLS, compiled by the Department of Racial and Cultural Relations, 297 Fourth Ave., New York, N. Y.

THE CHURCHES AND SEGREGATION — Official Statement and Resolution of the National Council of the Churches of Christ in the U.S.A., published by the Department of Publication and Distribution, 120 East 23rd St., New York, N. Y.

#### Reprinted Articles

Peters, William, THE SCHOOLS THAT BROKE THE COLOR LINE (reprinted from October 1954 Redbook) distributed by NAACP Legal Defense and Educational Fund, Inc., 107 West 43rd St., New York 36, N. Y.

Moon, Henry Lee, DESEGREGATION AT WORK — PROGRESS AND PROBLEMS (reprinted from The Nation, December 18, 1954), distributed by NAACP, 20 West 40th St., New York, N. Y.

CAN MORALITY BE LEGISLATED? (reprinted from New York Times Magazine Section, May 22, 1955), available from Department of Racial and Cultural Relations, 297 Fourth Ave., New York, N. Y.

#### Films, Filmstrips and Records

Contact the Department of Motion Pictures, Anti-Defamation League of B'nai B'rith, 212 Fifth Ave., New York, N. Y.; — Film Division, American Jewish Committee, 386 Fourth Ave., New York, N. Y.; — The Religious Film Association, Inc., 35 West 45th St., New York, N. Y.

## THE NATURE AND ROLE OF PROPAGANDA IN INFLUENCING PUBLIC OPINION

By

Alfred McClung Lee, Brooklyn College

(As presented before the participants in the Eighth Annual Retreat for Race Relations Secretaries. Sponsored by the Department of Racial and Cultural Relations, National Council of Churches of Christ in the U.S.A., April 1, 2, 1955.)

Maybe the word strategem suggests conniving to you. Many would like to think that strategem is a notion alien to the religious and community organizations to which we are devoted.

A church or Community Chest drive, many believe, does not need strategy. It just requires dramatic interpretation. Just arouse the public! Show them the needs and what the Chest funds will buy! Make them see the real importance of the church or the Chest! And the public will then surely give what is needed!

If all community public relations efforts could be that simple, strategy would require little attention.

But community public relations problems are seldom really that simple. Situations in any community develop that demand skilled planning and the best available stratagems.

How can you cope with an ambitious promoter or politician who decides to move into your community and establish an agency in competition (actually but not nominally) with an existing agency?

How can you handle a personal attack upon the professional ability or integrity of a tested and responsible staff member? This attack may appear openly or in rumors. It may be—as they said during World War II—in form of white, grey, or black propaganda.

What can you do when the owner of the only local newspaper and radio station becomes unsympathetic to crucial aspects of your program?

How can you deal with difficult problems arising out of church and state relations?

To plan public relations adequately and with an eye to as many contingencies as possible, it is essential to understand propaganda strategies others might use against you or your

organization and to be prepared to use public relations strategies to counteract them and to forward your own positive program.

In many cases, the propaganda (their) strategies employ the same techniques as the public relations (our) strategies. They are similar techniques used for different purposes and in different contexts. In fact, the notion that propaganda should be regarded in purely a negative sense is now recognized as a kind of propaganda itself. Some of the most instructive books on public relations are labeled books on propaganda. Few examples of the opposite are available, however, because of the blandness that pervades so many essays and books that are said to deal with "public relations."

To illustrate what I mean by strategies, I would like to outline and describe briefly (1) the typical steps in a public relations or propaganda program and then to list and discuss briefly (2) certain common and (3) a number of special strategic techniques.<sup>1</sup>

Typical steps in a public relations or propaganda program—repeated over and over again in approximately this sequence—are the following: (a) fact-gathering, (b) definition of the situation, (c) case-making, (d) simplification, (e) development of strategy, and (f) execution of the program. The fact-gathering can be as formal as it needs to be to form the basis for an analysis and eventually a definition of the situation in which your agency finds itself. It should include checks upon the reactions of groups important to your agency's program. Case-making is the sort of thing an attorney does in

<sup>1</sup> Adapted from A. M. and E. B. Lee's *The Fine Art of Propaganda* (New York: Harcourt, Brace and Co., 1939) and A. M. Lee's *How to Understand Propaganda* (New York: Rinehart & Co., 1952).



## RESOURCE PERSONNEL

This listing of state organizations affiliated with the Southern Regional Council, Inc., 63 Auburn Avenue, N.E., Room 432, Atlanta 3, Georgia, has been supplied by Dr. George C. Mitchell, from whose letter of transmittal the following quotation is taken: "One purpose of the state group we have set up is to provide a continuing channel of responsible interchange between white and Negro people. They are particularly interested in the matter of schools, but the state groups are concerned, also, in the broad field of race and human relations in their areas. We think of the state staffs as being freely available to churches and other organizations in those states in need of facts, minor services, or counsel. Indeed the state organizations ought ideally to be little more than formalized coordinating bodies for the efforts of any individuals and groups in each state."

### Affiliated State Organizations

(Rev. 6-20-55)

#### Alabama Council on Human Relations

Rev. Duncan Hunter, Chairman  
First Methodist Church  
Alexander City, Alabama  
  
Rev. Robert E. Hughes, Exec. Sec.  
Moore Building  
Room 206  
Court Street  
Montgomery, Alabama

#### Arkansas Council on Human Relations

Mr. Fred Darragh, Chairman  
1401 East Sixth Street  
Little Rock, Arkansas  
  
Mr. Nat Griswold, Exec. Sec.  
211 Izard St.  
Little Rock, Arkansas  
  
Mr. Christopher Mercer, Associate Exec. Sec.  
P.O. Box 426  
Pine Bluff, Arkansas

#### Florida Council on Human Relations

Mr. Paul Finner, Chairman  
930 West Park  
Tallahassee, Florida

#### Georgia Committee on Interracial Cooperation

Rev. G. E. Clary, Chairman  
63 Auburn Avenue, N.E.  
Atlanta 3, Georgia  
  
Dr. Guy H. Wells, Exec. Sec.  
63 Auburn Avenue, N.E.  
Atlanta 3, Georgia  
  
Mr. Lucius Pitts, Assoc. Exec. Sec.  
Holsey-Cobb Institute  
Cordele, Georgia (half-time)

#### Kentucky Council on Human Relations

Mr. W. H. Perry, Chairman  
2320 West Chestnut Street  
Louisville, Kentucky  
  
Dr. Hugh A. Brimm, Acting Exec. Sec.  
1319 Heyburn Building  
Louisville, Kentucky

#### Louisiana Council on Human Relations

Rev. Albert D'Orlando, Chairman  
First Unitarian Church  
1806 Jefferson Avenue  
  
New Orleans, Louisiana  
  
Mr. Milton Conrad Vigo, Exes. Sec.  
303 Board of Trade Annex Building  
New Orleans 12, Louisiana

#### Mississippi Council on Human Relations

Rabbi Charles Mantinband, Chairman  
808 Mamie Street  
Hattiesburg, Mississippi  
  
Mrs. M. J. Lyells, Exec. Sec.  
1104 Lynch Street  
Jackson, Mississippi

#### North Carolina Council on Human Relations

Mr. R. D. Wellons, Chairman  
President  
Pembroke College  
Pembroke, North Carolina  
  
Mr. Harry S. Jones, Exec. Sec.  
121 East Third Street  
Room 209  
Charlotte, North Carolina

#### South Carolina Council on Human Relations

Mr. J. Claude Evans, Chairman  
P.O. Box 867  
Columbia, South Carolina  
  
Mrs. E. H. Spearman, Exec. Sec.  
1508 Lady Street  
Columbia, South Carolina

#### Tennessee Council on Human Relations

Mr. Haskell Miller, (Acting) Chairman  
University of Chattanooga  
Chattanooga, Tennessee  
  
Mr. Clarence L. Hughes (office manager)  
Room 420 Jackson Building  
Cherry and 7th Streets  
Chattanooga, Tennessee

#### Texas Commission on Race Relations

Mrs. James S. Crate, Chairman  
2410 Inwood Drive  
Houston 19, Texas  
  
Mr. Thomas S. Sutherland, Exec. Sec.  
309 West 21st Street  
Austin, Texas

#### Virginia Council on Human Relations

Rev. W. Carroll Brooke, Chairman  
Box 208  
Staunton, Virginia  
  
Mr. John H. Marion, Exec. Sec.  
Bon Air Presbyterian Church  
Buford Road  
Bon Air, Virginia (temp. address)  
  
Mr. William Cooper, Assoc. Exec. Sec.  
Hampton Institute  
Hampton, Virginia (half-time)





preparing his materials for court. It is also what someone in every agency should do prior to a renewal of public relations efforts.

Once the agency's public relations situation is understood afresh and the facts and conclusions concerning it placed in order, then relatively simple summaries of the agency's case should be prepared. If possible, for convenience in interpretation, these summaries may be slogans. These statements will then become the theme or themes of the strategies developed and carried out in the execution of the program.

Many techniques and devices, organizations, mediums, and persons may be used in public relations strategies. . . . The present piece deals only with typical overall strategies.

Three relatively common and dependable strategies are those which build upon (a) person-to-person communication, (b) program of deeds, and (c) democratic leadership. Let us look at each one of these briefly:

**Person-to-Person:** The endless procession of quiz and other give-away programs on television and radio testifies more to the effectiveness of personal identification in public relations strategies than to that of acquisitiveness. The spontaneity and genuinity of a fellow human being's needs and efforts to satisfy those needs by answering a few questions bring about a high degree of identification of listener with subject. Here are not the possessive mouthings of carefully trained announcers; here are folks just like us facing real problems and frequently solving them. Kate Smith, in her World War II bond marathons, built upon the same principle. As one devotee of Kate is quoted as saying, "She's sincere and *she really means anything* she ever says. It isn't just sittin' up there and talkin' and gettin' paid for it. She's different from what other people are."

**Program of Deeds:** This is a series of events that dramatizes the cause, institution, movement, or person central to a public relations effort. Deeds can be faked or overrated, but deeds that bear the aura of genuinity have a spontaneity and an uncontrollable character that is hard to create in a phony manner. A premium on believability has placed a high premium indeed on faking it. But the fake, and especially a series of fakes, seldom maintains itself through the rigors of popular checks and cross checks unless it is in line with a myth that people feel desperately they must accept and believe. To translate this specifically into terms of a program for a community agency, a year-long series of news items and radio and television reports on events and specific accomplishments can outweigh mere oral tributes at any time.

**Democratic Leadership:** Many community agencies have been damaged by autocratic leadership. In a democratic sense, a leader is not a person with a quality—given by training or experience or mere appointment—which sets him aside and gives him the right to lead "common" mortals. In a democratic sense, a leader is a person who senses the direction a group or a community wants to go, and he or his agency becomes symbolic of a movement in that direction. One of the greatest dangers at any time to democracy is a leader who leads too successfully, who makes other leadership or participation in decision-making unnecessary, who tends to assume monopolistic control of leadership. In every community are agencies which have been impaired by such authoritarians. Fortunately, the democratic framework we have in American communities tends to limit the dangers implicit in overly successful leadership. Our McCarthys are frightening and costly, but eventually we find ways to cope with them.

In addition to these three relatively common and dependable over-all strategies, there are a number of others community leaders need to know. These other strategies become important in struggles with unsympathetic or even destructive operators. These strategies also become important in helping an agency to assert its need and accomplishments in the increasingly complex community propaganda competition.

Here is what all agencies actually face: The high-pressure struggle for our minds beats words and tactics into empty symbols and rituals. It wears out propaganda appeals. As a result, specialists probe even deeper for new, more accurate

and more telling ways to tap our motivations. I am referring to all kinds of public relations specialists—in advertising, politics, industrial management, and civic and religious agencies. This all resembles the circular situation in medicine. As physicians keep more and more people alive, they have to learn ever more effective techniques in order to be able to do so. The proliferating propagandists similarly make each other's job all the more difficult. And so mankind's medical crutch has to grow ever more sturdy. And mankind's propagandists, counterpropagandists, and students of propaganda all make each other's tasks constantly more difficult, more pressing, more important.

Here is a list of strategies community leaders need to know in order to meet rough and tumble tactics: (a) offense-defense, (b) hot potato, (c) stalling, (d) least-of-evils, (e) guilt-and virtue-by-association, (f) confusion, (g) big lie, (h) censorship, (i) conflict, (j) compromise, (k) shift of scene, (l) change of pace, (m) big tent, (n) unvarnished truth.

Here are brief descriptions with some comments on each of these:

**Offense-Defense:** As politicians have long since realized, attack has many advantages over defense. Many appointive officials of governmental agencies spend far more time than they or the community can afford upon defensive efforts. Appointive officials can seldom seize the initiative in a struggle, but community leaders can take the initiative away from unfair attackers both for worthwhile governmental agencies and for independent organizations. This is achieved by a careful analysis of the situation in terms other than the attack and then by a selection of a sound basis upon which the initiative may be seized.

**Hot Potato** is a popular term for making a "plant" and for the sort of thing implied in the question, "Have you stopped beating your wife?" It has been called the "propaganda of provocation." In other words, it is the springing of an event, a trap, a situation upon the opponent that will force him to compromise himself, to handle something in an embarrassed and embarrassing manner. The event, trap, or situation need not be fictitious or framed. From the standpoint of effectiveness, it is better if the propagandist makes skillful use of accurate facts and especially of events and developments beyond his control. Hot Potato depends for its effectiveness chiefly upon news value, timing, and interpretation.

**Stalling** is an old dependable. It involves in one manner or another a play for time. It is the use of plausible delaying tactics that may permit the opposition to lose vigor, interest, and support before a decision can be reached. In other words, when a politician, business executive, college president, or other leader is confronted with a question answerable only in ways offensive to powerful groups, a convenient way out is to appoint a "fact-finding" committee. He orders a "broad and impartial survey" of the subject. The products of such an investigating committee may, in rare instances, have direct value in clarifying the situation; more commonly, they compound confusion.

In commenting upon the absence of action following the grave 1943 inter-racial crisis in Detroit, a Negro leader reviewed what previous Detroit committees of investigation of race riots over a period of some twenty-five years had failed to accomplish. He then asserted, "Today we have a new committee . . . Its report can be written now. The question is whether you (Mr. Mayor) will *do* anything after you receive it." That was also the question at the outset, but the mayor did not wish to face it.

Stalling takes many forms other than the appointment of committees. Another form, to illustrate, can be called "the proper sequence" or just "red tape." When a decision cannot be faced squarely, it is sometimes helpful to claim that that decision can only be made—formally at least—in "the proper sequence." In other words, it can be made only when it is possible to get certain key people together in order to obtain their concurrence. Or when certain legal or ethical technicalities have been met. Or at a time when the decision would "look natural" and not "forced."



*Least-of-Evils* frequently serves to justify an otherwise unattractive or even repulsive personality or course of action. It is also, of course, in many cases what amounts to a fair interpretation of the facts in the light of broad public interests. In this country, anti-minority agitators have often used this tactic to justify their extremist proposals. The segregationists in the recent litigation before the U. S. Supreme Court claimed that "separate but equal" treatment for Negro school pupils may not be equal but it is the least-of-evils and hence the best practical course for Negroes and for the community. Similar arguments are now being used to delay "forthwith" enforcement of the Court's decision. The anti-segregationists contend that unsegregated schools are the least problematic of possible alternatives. Even though they would present problems of assimilation they would be the wisest course whether viewed on their merits or as the least-of-evils.

*Guilt- and Virtue-by-Association* and the closely related *Scapegoating* are techniques of disaster. They have frequently been discussed, and I will therefore not elaborate them here.

*Confusion*: Aggressive social actionists know the value of the rapid exploitation of an apparently confusing situation. They rush through "emergency" measures, usually in a "heroic" or "self-sacrificing" way. "Something had to be done, and there was no time to take the matter up with anyone, so we did the best we could." They can then confront a public with even an outrageous *fait accompli* and many times get away with it. Among high pressure manipulators of organizations, this is—as they say in the armed forces—"standard operating procedure" or "S. O. P."

*Big Lie, Censorship*: In general, it is probably a fairly tenable hypothesis that the more efficiently a community's public discussions are censored (controlled), the greater the extent to which people come to regard such public discussions in the press, on the radio, and elsewhere as empty rituals divorced from the reality of flesh-and-blood life situations. The big lie is closely tied up with censorship. Either the term is a name-calling label, a way to denounce opposition propaganda, or it refers to a baseless piece of propaganda that is repeated powerfully time and again in spite of its baselessness. As many a student of society has pointed out, a social scientist can pursue abstract and verifiable truths by scientific procedures. He can eventually discover ideas approaching such truths, but in society outside our libraries and our laboratories, there are social truths, and in a healthy society there may well be as many versions of social truths as there are social groups to hold them. One can inflict or impose orthodoxy, but no power has ever been discovered to make orthodoxy more than ritualistically acceptable.

*Conflict, Compromise*: Conflict refers to the propaganda uses of strikes, lockouts, boycotts, picketings, shows of official force, riots, and wars. Depending upon your viewpoint, synonyms for compromise are appeasement and give-and-take and horse-trading.

*Shift of Scene, Change of Pace*: These two stratagems are among the most confusing to amateurs in social action. Shift of scene of a struggle are common in politics and government. Advertisers shift their emphasis from advertising medium to medium. Industrialists are prepared to shift their struggle for power from sales drives to financial manipulation, to lobbies, to courts, to searches for inventions or materials. Trade unionists can shift from organizing drives to deals with management or with other unions to lobbies and strikes. Change of pace can be as useful as shift of scene. Sometimes they are used together. Both are ways of changing the terms of competition or conflict, of changing the basic public relations issue. Change of pace is to switch from slow to fast, from low-pressure to high-pressure, from bellicosity to appeasement, from emotional selling to factual reporting, from a sponsored newscast to a musical program or radio or television.

*Big Tent*: For an organization to be large, with an extensive and varied constituency, it has to follow a big tent type of stratagem. Under the big tent in the Ringling-Brother Barnum & Bailey Combined Circus, there are many attractions, many things to do and see. They appeal to children, adults, the unmarried, the young married, the aged, the scientific little girls, "tough" little boys, and the world weary. And so, with modifications, it is with churches, huge corporations, unions, political parties, schools, and councils of social agencies.

*Unvarnished Truth* is something more than what ordinarily passes as truth telling. It is an effort to so present palatable and unpalatable facts that audiences will think your report to be completely down to earth. Both Republicans and Democrats remarked and speculated about the effectiveness of this technique as it was used so spectacularly by Adlai Stevenson in his 1952 Presidential campaign. What this had to do with the margin of six million votes between Stevenson and Eisenhower will never be known. It might have helped to keep the margin from being larger; it might have helped to make it that large.

All this is merely a quick glance at the world of stratagem available to the public relations specialist. Perhaps it helps to open up to you the responsibilities of church and community leaders in this increasingly complex and important aspect of their endeavors.

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The matter of these pages is presented for the reader's information. Unless so stated, it is not to be construed as reflecting the attitudes or positions of the Department of Racial and Cultural Relations or of The National Council of Churches.

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NATIONAL COUNCIL OF THE  
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